[7 cont.]

222 The honey badger, !uisa (N. !ous), which leads to the
825 bees, is followed ever so eagerly.

The common wild pig (gariba), the kudu (daub), the
224 gemsbok χ'uaba (N. /gaib), and all the small antelopes are hunted. Pits are no longer known, although they used to dig them in former times.

If they decide to go hunting, sexual intercourse must be
[534] avoided the night before. In the evening the hunters go into the forest and spend the night there. Before dawn they rise and pray:

[539] Pu, pu, Erǒ, /nari dsu /ari mate — God, tomorrow early we receive.

When a piece of game has been killed, one of the hunters cuts a piece of flesh from the animal's body and hands it to the leader of the hunt. This meat is called am-shái-khe. A fire is made, and this piece is placed on it. When it is roasted, the leader cuts off a piece and shouts:

[539] Ero, Ero, Ero, ha gore, ha gore — Erob, Erob, Erob, eat, eat
i Khe Khandi ô — With us flesh.

After a pause:

ha lĕ a lĕ ha gǒre o Khandi ô — Come! Come! Let us eat flesh.

Now the roasted flesh is consumed. Nothing is thrown away or left behind for Erob.

Then the game is cut up, and everyone goes home with his portion.

136 Snakes are not rare, although they are by no means as common as in the stony regions of the southwest.

The boa constrictor eats human beings; if it catches a Bushman, it starts to consume him at the legs!

132 In spite of the timber forest, the danger of drought is
821 great. Erob sends rain. When there is a drought, the Bushmen
731 dance and pray:

[539] Ero, Ero, Ero, /ga !goro — Erob, Erob, Erob, we are dying of thirst
/ga-wi -ma ta re — Water give us.

177 [8] It is very interesting to observe how in these certainly
776 very ancient hunting and rain prayers the former old heathen gods'
782 names Huwe and χ'amab were replaced by the Christian "Ellob."

I asked the people whether they knew any other prayers and received the following answer: "We know very well that

[8 cont.]

177 nothing can be done without Erob; we also pray to him whenever
776 somebody is ill, but we have no song for that, we do it in our
782 hearts." In these conceptions Christian influence is obvious.

881 They have no initiation for boys, but there is one for girls at the time of the first menstruation.

The girls' initiation is called "dorob."

At the onset of the menses, the girl becomes a "χ'ába χ'ábesa"; a special hut (omba) is built for her, where she is guarded by older women who feed her. The girl is allowed to eat anything, but nothing with her hands. When the menses end, a two-day festival begins, which terminates with a concluding dance. The candidate is seated in the center. Men and women go around
[534] her in a circle. The men blow on wooden trumpets. (These trumpets are made by the !Kung at only one place.) At the same time the drum is beaten (!guruba). At the conclusion, the women make "music." They clap their hands and sing:

●[539] e-e-e-e-a-eje a jeja ni u u e . . .

Between times the drums and wooden trumpets sound.

539 Then the choral song of the men begins.

881 boro ai /i-he ǂhasa	Daughter my has become tall (just)
ǂhau ge	Stand erect (tall)
/gai /ka uta (?) /noro-re	Good be now our little sunshine (1)

1. Literally: "Shine, you."

/ari ni tessa	Dance (2), sing, sue for her hand (3)

2. Literally: "Jump."

3. Literally: "Ask for!"

!goasa hi bare	People, be glad
Ti Komi !gŏă Kŏŏ...Kŏŏ... Kŏŏŏ	So, in this way, people, you should do it.

Then the dance begins anew.

[582] The engagement usually takes place long before the
585 girl's initiation. Hence the rule is that the wedding and the girl's
881

/10 cont./

123 Since I was able to become quite friendly with their "foreman," who possesses a small farm, I discovered some details concerning their outlook on life.

776 They believe in a supreme being which is not conceived of as a human being and which they call ǀ'amaba. Here we have H. Vedder's /Gamab of the Bergdama.

773 ǀ'amaba made everything, the sun, the moon, the stars, and also human beings. First he made the Whites, then the Blacks, and finally the Bushmen. They are unable to say how ǀ'amaba made human beings.

[372] The old Bushmen say that fire comes from the devil.
[776] Heiseb is the devil, according to them. Heiseb and the ostrich played together. The ostrich had the fire on his arm. While dancing the ostrich spread his wings, and Heiseb took the fire from him. Heiseb threw the fire brand behind him. There was a bush which started to burn. And there the people discovered the fire.

776 Heiseb is evil and only does evil. He is conceived as human in form. No one knows where he came from.

ǀ'amaba, on the other hand, is benevolent. People pray to him for help.

539 I took down the following prayers:
782 1. Prayer for rain: In olden times pieces of wood were
821 cut from the !Hawewa tree. It could not be felled. These pieces of wood were thrown into the fire, and as soon as the pungent smoke rose upward, the people sang in chorus:

ǀ'amaba duwa /gam-i-i a a — God, give water to drink.
ǀ'amaba duwa /gam-i-i !hanusa — God, give water rain,
anita(?) a a — so that we may drink.

2. Prayer of thanks for rain: When the rain has finally come, a dance of joy is performed, and the following is sung:

ǀ'ámaba ǀ'ámaba ǀ'ámaba — God, God, God
tūta tūta — We have received, we have received
!hanusa /gam-i-i !hanusa /gam-i-i — Rain water, rain water
tara ái /gam ái !hanusa tutasi — We can drink, drink water, receive water.

[10 cont.]

539 χ'ámabe χ'ámabe χ'ámabe χ'ámabe God, God, God, God
782 /gami tara ái Water we can drink!

[11] In the waterless wilderness of the palm bush and the Otjimpolo Veld death from thirst often enough overtakes even the Bushmen, accustomed as they are to privation. They do not deny that at times they are forced to leave the old and the sick behind in the wilderness. But such an occurrence stays in the people's memory for a long time as a serious misfortune. Anyone who is acquainted with the Bushmen's love of children and veneration of parents and old people can understand what it means to them to be forced to leave behind one of their own. One must have experienced personally the feeling that overcomes one when due to thirst and heat the body no longer gives off perspiration, the dry forehead feels burning hot, and a slight chill passes through the body, in order to understand this song of joy which seems so naïve, whose content is: We can drink again!

3. Short and fervent prayer at the beginning of a journey:

χ'ámaba !Khu gai teve God, let me travel well.

4. Choral prayer for a sick person: When someone is gravely ill, the relatives sing in chorus, while the doctor performs his ceremonies.

χ'ámaba !khoé-wa ≠khai khá'ira téve God, let our people rise again.

5. Not a real prayer, but rather a formula of exorcism is said to oneself when meeting a stranger regarded as evil:

Tshuai Kwewa /Nawa!

They do not know anything to say about the sun (sorésa). The moon (χ'áwa) dies every month and wakes up again.

Illnesses are sent by χ'amaba. He sends them to those persons with whom he is angry. Other spirits have no role in this, and there is no spirit of sickness.

There is a host of little spirits, the /ga /ga hú, in the bush. They play tricks.

A human being has only one soul, !gaoba. This soul goes to heaven after death. (!nanu-aiba, rain house?) The house of χ'amaba (≠khauba) is there. Only the doctors know what it looks like up there. They speak with χ'amaba.

/11 cont./

775 "No spirits of the dead remain on the world; I have never yet seen any spirits, and I tell you only what I know. People talk a lot, but they know nothing." My informant thus concluded his statements concerning the beyond.

778 A sacred fire is unknown to the Dama Bushmen.

372 A youths' initiation is still performed by the !Kung in 881 the east. Among the Dama it is no longer held. On the other 184 hand, initiations for girls are still held, but they refused to give me any information about the details.

584 Marriage depends upon the free consent of the girl. To be sure, through the persuasion of the parents the girls always say yes. Once the girl has the initiation ceremonies behind her, a suitor soon approaches her to tell her that "she has now grown up and can become a wife." If the girl consents (after consultation with her parents), the suitor goes to his parents. He does not 585 consult his future parents-in-law. The bridegroom must bring a fat ox and a number of goats to the wedding. The parents of the bride likewise kill some animals. The actual ceremony consists of the bridegroom rubbing a thick layer of fat mixed with red ocher over the entire body of the bride, while the men sing:

[539] jejeje jejeje !hawawa !hawawa.

!hawawa means wedding. At the same time, the women and girls clap their hands.

177 Bantu influence is already strongly apparent in the mar- 582 riage laws. Thus, it is possible to "marry" even little girls, whom the man keeps with him until they are sexually mature. A 595 man may have as many wives as he wants. The first wife is not consulted when the husband wants to take more wives. My question concerning this matter was met with an outburst of laughter from the yellow-brown circle.

586 It is possible to send a wife away, but this is regarded as improper and indecent, and it is taken as an insult by the wife's relatives.

582 [12] A man can look for a wife wherever he wishes; only marriage with the children of the father's siblings, especially of his sister, is prohibited.

611 The daughter belongs to the family of the man, the son to the family of the wife.

[12 cont.]

843 262 The pregnant woman may eat no "ongaka" and no bush-buck (okapundja, //airibkhe); she is allowed to eat hares.

844 Birth takes place in the hut. Men may not be present. As soon as the umbilical cord (//náēba) has fallen off, the child's hair is cut and buried. Then the child is carried out of the hut. [553] The father receives it and gives it a name, which is chosen quite arbitrarily.

764 As soon as death occurs, the corpse is unclothed, wrapped in hides or blankets, and is placed in the grave on its left side in an extended position with the head toward the west. Brushwood is placed on the covered grave. People come there to weep. Offerings are not brought.

224 [177] At the beginning of the hunt, certain ceremonies are performed, which I believe have in part been taken over from the Ovambo.

The hunters meet at a certain place in the forest (Khoá !Khuásha). Every hunter brings a twig with omsati leaves; these are thrown together in one place (omsati-//khái-wa), and a circle is drawn around it in the sand. Each hunter steps into the circle and on the leaves and says:

[539] //am ǂhaiba, //am ǂhaiba (?)

[782] The leader answers:

!Khu !Khu /ao /ao /auschá Lord! Lord! We must now go hunting!

When a wild animal has been killed, the lucky marksman first cuts a piece of flesh from it, roasts and eats it, and then divides the meat among his fellow hunters. No offerings are made.

224 422 This procedure is of the greatest interest. In the lower form of hunting practiced by primitive peoples, the individual huntsman is the undisputed owner of the game he has killed. In the case of the more highly organized hunting that these Bushmen practice today, the property right of the individual hunter is still stressed through these ceremonies, although ultimately the hunter receives no more meat than his companions.

222 [184] [462] [857] [233] The gathering of veldkost does not have the great significance here that it does in the east. After all, the women already commonly cultivate a little garden plot, and the youngsters herd a few goats, while the men still practice hunting as their main OCCUPATION.

/14 cont. I

000 chronic, good-natured imbiber . . .

776 In heaven there is one god, Erob. Lightning (dábara)
[821] and rain (!nanus) are sent by him. He calls heaven χ'ameiba.
This word is very interesting. It can mean both "place of the
/15/ souls (χ'a) " or "place of the χ'amab." The souls
[775] (um-ské) go to heaven after death. "This is what they say,"
said the man, "I haven't been there yet."

He did not know Gauab and Heiseb. Concerning other spirits, he said that people had mentioned them, but he did not believe in them. The spirits are supposedly called "gangarob."
756 The old Bushmen had neither doctors nor medicines against ill-
753 nesses. To my question about what made people ill, he responded with philosophical equanimity: "If one becomes ill, he is ill like an animal." He knew nothing about the sun (soris)
[821] and moon (χ'ab). A sacred fire is unknown to him.
[778]

224 Of greatest interest is his report, undoubtedly based
782 upon autopsy, concerning an initial offering at the hunt. I give the report in literal translation:

"Before people go out to the hunt, they meet at an omsati tree (//Khaia-aib). There a fire is made. Each hunter rips off a number of leaves, spits on them, and throws them into the fire as he shouts:

[539] Érob, Érob, áu tere! God, God, help us!

"When the game has been killed, one first cuts a piece each from the lung, liver, and stomach and throws each piece singly to the side, saying all the while:

Érob úre, Érob úre! God take, God take!

[539] "Then they start to eat."

This function is performed by the one who has killed the game.

881 The following was communicated to me concerning the
585 social organization:

There are initiation ceremonies. The celebration of the first menstruation originally coincided with the wedding. On the first day of menstruation the girl went into a pontok especially constructed for this purpose. Then there was dancing for two or three days, and after the cessation of the menses the girl went to

[15 cont:]

881 the man's encampment and took up married life. Nowadays the
585 first menstruation and wedding no longer always coincide.

584 The consent of the girl is absolutely necessary for the conclusion of the marriage. People often are betrothed already in childhood. Once the girl has grown up, that is, once she has become sexually mature, the suitor goes to the girl's parents. Neither the bride nor the bridegroom is allowed to enter the encampments of their prospective parents-in-law. If father and mother agree, then they go to the grandparents to obtain their consent. Then oxen, wethers, and goats are collected for the feast. Then the suitor goes to his parents, who in turn consult the grandparents. In the bridegroom's house also livestock is now collected, or, as the case may be, begged or purchased.

585 Then a great feast begins. There is dancing, and long trumpets are blown.

During the wedding dance the men sing:

[539] "Huwi é haa -- huwi é taa -- huwi áni taa." (The girl has grown up.)

The women clap their hands and sing:

"Jee jeee ja! jee jeee ja!"

881 A boys' initiation in the true sense of the term is no longer held. When the boy has grown up, however, a celebration
852 is held and livestock is killed. Similarly, when a child has been born, a celebration takes place, at which wethers or sheep are slaughtered. It is striking that among these Bushmen a sheep usually takes the place of the goat.

551 The boy receives the father's name; the daughter, the mother's name. The children belong to the family of the woman,
611 and the oldest uncle, or oldest brother of the woman, is the head
582 of the family. It is prohibited to marry the children of the mother's sisters.

The kinship terms are as follows:

601

German	Uukualuithi Bushmen	Nama
Father	//khum-khe	//gub, dadab, eib
Mother	//khums	//gus, is
Son	a χ'oron-khe	/gōab/gōb
Daughter	χ'ams-khe	/gōas/gōs
Brother	!gasab	!gasab
Sister	di !gas-khe	!gasas

[50 cont.]

than the smaller spirits. Their treatment is correspondingly successful or unsuccessful. In other words, the doctors are vindicated in any case.

The treatment of illness thus follows two parallel paths: one with natural means (medicines and the like), directed at the local symptoms of the ailment; and one with supernatural means, directed at the dsao that cause the feeling of sickness.

During the doctors' test the following song is sung:

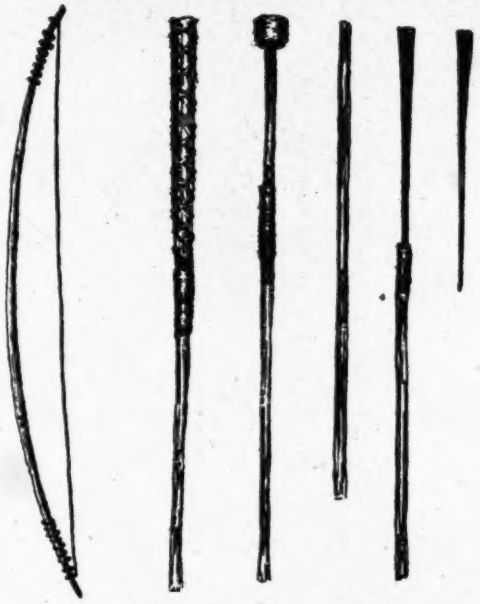


Fig. 20. Bushman Revolver of the !Kung (Foxhof; actual size [as shown in original text]).

e hehehe na ti //kau /goa dsao

During the treatment itself the following text is sung:

/o ma ga //goa ǂam /nai tha

He has no medicine yet, he must be thrown with the medicine.

Von Zastrow and Vedder (1) have the following to report

1. Die Buschmänner, p. 424.

[53 cont.]

751 burned to a tinder and pulverized to make a medicine. The per-
821 son struck now has incisions made on his tongue, forehead, cheeks, chest, and legs, into which fat is rubbed, and then this medicine is smeared on. Now, for the time being, he is safe from persecution by the rain.

16. Rain Magic

789 People turn directly to the great captain when they need
[539] rain. Not all doctors are able to procure rain, only the few who
796 enjoy the special favor of the great captain. Then a dance is organized, at which the doctors put themselves in the trance state described below. At the same time the following lament is repeated countless times:

[54]

[539] !garâ̋ gurí dee oa ǂam	Why does it not rain?
ǀ'uâ̋ dě rá /gaa !ái /gaa	Which lord is holding back the rain?
/gâ̋m khui hē	The sun is hot.
!kûng-ná gurí /gŏá /gŏá	Will man live?
//gauâ̋na tani /gee ǂgáo	Are the spirits bringing winter?
!kung /goá hŏŏ !koa	Where is man supposed to drink?
!kung ō dshn-ă̋	
//gaa /a //gŏě !kung	If it is so, can man only die of thirst?
/ñ a //gŏě	
!kună̋ //goě ne oa	What can man do now?
Ha-!kung tam hā̋ m tam nâ̋	We had better stay here because we have been abandoned!
/ñ gěě	

756 Finally the great captain in heaven hears the lamenting.
789 The doctor runs from the dance place into the bush and sees that
787 a thin thread is let down from the sky. The doctor climbs up on
796 this thread. The great captain comes to meet him half way. As soon as the doctor sees the great captain, he throws a red powder (ocher with medicine) toward him. Now the great captain draws the doctor up and leads him to the heavenly house. In front of this house [Fig. 20 appears here] the doctor sees the spirits of
[775] his deceased colleagues who year in, year out, stand before the house.

[54 cont.]

756 house. The doctor then begins to pray: "Lord, help us, the chil-
789 dren are dying, we are dying of thirst and hunger." He prays and
787 begs until the captain says: "It is good, I shall send water so that
796 the children will have water and veldkost." Then the great captain again accompanies the doctor halfway down. As soon as the doctor is down below, he lets go of the thread which is immediately drawn up. Now the people dance and sing, for the rain has come:

[539] /gǻ-é dsó-jã /gaa — We rejoice now over the rain.
//ẽ gã djusǻ !kho ǻdshója /ga — Then we rejoice all together.
//ẽ gã hin a /gaa /gaa — Then the rain comes.
da //goǻ dshn !gu da adschŏéa χ'u — Then the people praise the lord.

532]

Fig. 21. Spirits of the Dead and Rain Animal (from Bleek, Rock Paintings in South Africa etc., Pl. 58).

776 Another !Kung said to me: "The great captain in the sky
821 sends the rain and all that comes from above. If he does not want to, everything remains shut up. The rain is opened up above; a great vlei is there. I do not know the name of the great captain. The Hei//om call him Som-seb."

17. Religion

771 After a critical look at the sum of the conceptions determining
177 the religious life of the !Kung, one recognizes, as would naturally be expected in the case of such an ancient people, that the elements

[56 cont.]
695 not seen for the duration of the hunt, he is suspected of having
776 sneaked away. Then he swears by the great captain nu ǂxu, and all believe him.

776 Ordinarily, however, the great captain has everything taken care of by the highest of the spirits and lesser spirits. The chief concern of the Bushmen, therefore, is to stay in the good graces of these spirits, but the great captain does offer protection against all evil spirits, and for that reason people turn to him
[782] with the following prayers in case of severe illness and before the start of a journey:

[57]

[539] ǂ'u, ǂ'u hũi mi, //kai tsao mi — Lord, Lord, help me, raise me.
to 'oba !khu !gaise ≠ani u mĩ — "the lord shall lead me well
/nãna /ge a — to the place,
!nore gana ti /ge a gana ti tsa — where I am going, and he shall
/Nane /ã mi tsu (1) — lead me back well, so that I come home safely."

1. Notation of the Dama interpreter.

[224] Before the hunt the doctors pray to the great captain for hunting luck. There is no doubt that the Bushmen conceive of this "great captain" as an all-powerful and at the same time benign being. His executive organ, as has been noted, is the highest of the Gauab. The latter is called "the Gauab" by the common people, but he has a name known only by the doctors, and saying it may have serious consequences. Since I finally
[123] had the honor to be regarded as an equal by the doctors, I learned his name. He is called /Nawa. They were unable to give me an interpretation of this name, but Miss Bleek, from dance songs of the Angola Kung, reports the word /Nwa-se, supposedly an abbreviation for Nwima-se = new moon. According to this, we
[174] might be able to see in this chief Gauab the high god of a lunar-
[771] mythological religion which has been superimposed as a foreign element upon the primitive monotheism of the ǂ'u or Huwe faith. As is always the case in such matters, the supreme being of the invading religion has been transformed into a more or less evil
[171] principle. It also functions as such in the belief of the Nama and

[59 cont.]

19. Dance Songs

I was able to take down a few dances:

1. Dance Song for the Wedding

535
539 ee ga ee /nuia khe e /goaro be We are singing of the child. (Repeat.)

2. Pantomimic Eland Dance

X'ai /nui !gaa u da !gaa Runner with arrow poison in his body
ts-ii !gowara //goe Do you run with a heavy head.

The elephant dance, curiosly enough, is sung with the refrain: "The Ovambo girl goes around between the men."

524 The !Kung also have a war game. Two parties stand facing each other some distance apart and shoot bird arrows at each other. The Bushmen are very skillful in evading these arrows.

622
782
769 - Farmer Friedrich near Duwib reported the following to me concerning the Hei//om near Tsintsabis: When the village elder dies, his successor makes an incision on his forehead between the eyebrows and squirts the blood toward the east; then he cuts his little finger and sprays the blood toward the west. This is done so that the dead chief in the beyond will see to it that those remaining behind will always have veldkost.

782
681 At the girls' initiation the spirits of the east and west are implored in song to let the young woman always find veldkost.

787
695
684 "If after a hunting expedition of several days the husband suspects that his wife has been unfaithful to him, he can clear up the situation by means of an 'ordeal.' He takes a resinous root that burns like a candle with a bright flame, in the evening places it in the entrance of his, that is, his wife's hut, and observes the direction in which the long flame points. If the flame points into the interior of the house, adultery occurred during his absence. If it points outside, his wife is innocent."

[63 cont.]

764 [178] termite hills, sometimes in rock fissures, and commonly Betschuana [Tswana] style, in lateral niche graves. Besides food and water, a man's weapons are put in the grave with him, and for a woman, some ostrich eggs.

776 777 Now for the world view of the Masarwa. As Dornan reports, Thora is the very great one who [64] is above all things. He sends the rain and the game, veldkost and hunting luck. They commonly invoke Thora for luck on the hunt and thank him when they have had it (1).

[113] 1. P. Schebesta, "Die religiösen Anschauungen Südafrikas [The Religious View of South Africa]," Anthropos, XVIII-XIX, 1923-24.

776 [224] [782] Chapman reports that Bushmen who once had killed a rhinoceros sprinkled some dust on the animal's tail and eyes and at the same time murmured words of thanks to Thora.

The Bushmen are not entirely clear as to whether Thora is a spirit or not; in any case they have great respect for him. They believe that Thora makes all things, but they do not know where he lives or whether he is a person. The western tribes primarily use the word Huwe. The Tati, however, also know this word and regard Huwe as a good spirit who keeps away sickness, gives abundant food, and protects the Bushmen in times of danger. They call [782] upon him when in need. The Sansoque say, Huwe ka hume ie ie [539] (Huwe, come and help us). Huwe, however, seems to be weaker than Thora and must turn to him for help. A Bushman song from Thuli goes: Tho-ra ba Hu-we ie ie (Thora, come to the aid of Huwe).

[171] [174] Among many Bushman tribes and also among the Hottentot, an evil principle, "Khauna," is known, a concept that stems from the times when the Bushmen and Hottentot were one people. The [173] Kalahari Bushmen are not certain whether Thora or Khauna made the first human beings.

825 Incidentally, the Kalahari Bushmen believe that men and animals can change their shapes; thus, for example, a person may appear as a leopard. In particular, springboks, baboons, and some snakes are regarded as human beings in another stage of their

NOGAU
≠AUIN

[69 cont.]

881 assistants, the boys go into the bush. On the first day two vertical incisions are made on the forehead; then they sing throughout the night and dance to the melody: "Ije, ije, aije, aije . . .
● [539] oho, oho," etc.

On the morning of the second day, the incisions on the
[304] forehead are extended to the root of the nose and the hairline. On the afternoon of this day the elders call the youths together to look for veldkost. The elder loosens the roots with his digging stick, and as he does so the candidates place their hands on the arm doing the work. The boys must then dig the roots out of the ground with their hands, without the help of tools. "From now on they can look for veldkost themselves, for now they have been taught."

After this lesson they return to the place where the women are. [70] Food is prepared there for both the men and the candidates; the candidates are allowed to eat only veldkost, no meat. Then they dance, together with the women and girls, for a night and half a day.

In the afternoon the candidates go hunting. They must bag three animals: a small duiker, a guinea fowl, and a bullfrog. They take their prey and assemble with the older instructors at a remote place, the three kinds of meat are cooked together, the meat is eaten by the elders, and the bodies of the boys are washed all over with the soup. From now on they may eat the three ani-
[262] mals, hitherto forbidden to them. Now they again dance and
[539] sing: "Oouu, oouu, oouu, oouu, oouu" (long drawn-out).

≠Auin: The candidates from neighboring villages go into
881 the bush under the leadership of the doctor, and they live there on veldkost for a few weeks. During this time they receive instructions in secret matters. Kaufmann reports the following
[535] dance: A boy gets up on the back of another, and both of them wrap themselves in a large hide mantle. The dance consists of the carrier swinging from one leg to the other as rapidly as possible without moving forward, and both of them yell "hu, hu." They actually attain manhood, which gives them the right to marry, only through the hunting test. Tattooing is not connected
[304] with the declaration of manhood.

NARON
≠AUIN
NOGAU

[70 cont.]

881 her food, which is given to her by an old woman. On the sixth day the girl goes looking for veldkost with an old woman, and, when she has returned, she herself makes the fire and cooks the food in the circle of her guests, for the first time officially independent.
(502) Girls may marry even before this ceremony.

[71] Among the ≠Auin the initiation is held for each girl
881 at the time of the first menstruation. The same is true among the Naron. The eland bull dance is performed every night during
881 the girl's period. Two old men attach real or wooden eland
535 horns to their heads and wait in the bush. Then the menstruating girl comes and sits down or lies down surrounded by old women, in the center of a circle of younger women who stage a dance. The two eland bulls soon appear and then quickly disappear again. The dance is very indecent. Among the Nussan, men masked as birds (!) take the place of the eland bulls.

796 Once a year, in autumn when the veldkost is harvested, there is a great festival. The day is called: "//gam gna she (the great day)." On this occasion food is prepared, and the Bushmen come from all sides. They dance and sing, but they are supposed to stay at home; no one may hunt, look for veldkost, or do any kind of work. [Fig. 25 appears here.]

4. Courtship, Wedding, and Marriage

If a young Bushman wants to marry, he does not go to the girl, but instead must speak with her parents; at the same time
584 the girl's consent to the marriage is necessary. Once this consent is given, presents are exchanged between the parents of the engaged couple, or a gemsbok is shot and divided between the two families. Immediately after the presents have been exchanged, preparations for the wedding are begun. If enough game, above all, a gemsbok, is at hand, they dance through the
● [539] entire night and sing: "Ueeõ, ueeeõ, õ, eee, gueeõ, guueeõ," etc.

Then the young man takes his wife and moves to the horde
581 of his father. Great importance is attached to virginity before
[591] marriage. "It simply does not happen among us that a girl

NARON
NOGAU
≠AUIN

[75 cont.]

Among the Naron, according to Miss Bleek, the Bushman revolver is also in use. The doctors fight one another with it. Such an arrow is secretly shot at the opponent's kaross, and through the magic emanating from the arrow, the enemy falls sick and dies.

8. Death and Burial

The Nogau have the following conceptions: Death is caused by Gauab, who steals the soul and makes a little Gauab of it. The dead person is buried immediately; there is no dancing, only weeping. The corpse is tied in a crouching position and buried on its side with the head toward the east. Only the sleeping blanket is placed in the grave; the weapons that were left behind are kept by the brothers. The food that the deceased was carrying with him is thrown on the grave. Then bushes are placed on it.

In their opinion the soul of the deceased, which has been transformed into a Gauab, wanders around near the grave; therefore they detour around it. When a Nogau Bushman passes the grave of a tribal member, he prays to him for help in hunting so that the children will grow fast and become fat. He says:

"I do not know how it will go with me
With the food, how it will go with me with the food;
I do not know what I should do to get something to eat,
Let us eat and become big."

On the other hand, there is also the belief that the great Gauab who kills a human being eats the heart or keeps it in cold water and finally makes a new Bushman of it. Among the Naron the corpse is tied in a crouching position and buried on his side with the face toward the east. These customs are by no means always observed, however, especially when the ground is hard.

The Naron do not fear the spirits of the dead, although the doctors see them, as do those men "who have incisions between the eyebrows." As we know from the Nogau, this includes all who have taken part in the boys' initiation. Women can never see such spirits.

Among all three tribes, old people are exposed to die.

≠AUIN
NARON
NOGAU

[76 cont.]

411 The little bow (!naru) is made from the //ne bush and is
[192] much shorter than that of the !Kung. The arrow and the arrow point are called tschi. They have arrows with iron points like the !Kung, as well as others made of bone. The accompanying figures show the two types, which have already been sufficiently described by other authors. The arrow points found in older collections, on which the poison is applied not only at the tip but also in lines or dots of little lumps on the contact piece, are now no longer in use. The bows of the Naron are also small, and they likewise have two kinds of arrows. The arrow shafts are made of reed, which is used only in a few places. In addition, all these tribes have root-stock clubs. Spears (kuku) are bartered
[431] from the Ovambo in exchange for ostrich egg beads. Bleek
231 writes [77] of the Naron that formerly they had no dogs at all, and Kaufmann reports that the ≠Auin have very few dogs. The Nogau had all kinds of mongrels, but none of any peculiar strain. Two animal stories should be told in this connection:

•539 1. A large bird killed a duiker. Then the hyena came and took the duiker. The hyena met the jackal. The jackal said: "Hyena, you should not go where you want to go, otherwise bad things will happen to you!" But the hyena went anyway, and the great bird (!gui) came and tied the hyena's feet together and made a fire by its feet. Since then the hyena has black legs and dares not kill anything living. But the jackal also went stealing, whereupon the great bird seized him and held him with his back to the fire; since then it has a black stripe across its back.

2. The lion came to the watering place; then the frog came out of the water and mocked the lion. The latter wanted to kill the frog, but only scratched it on its back; the frog quickly jumped into the water again, but since then it has black stripes on its back. [Fig. 27 appears here.]

10. Clothing and Ornaments

291 The clothing of the man consists of the cap, made from the hide of the jackal, the jumping hare, or the duiker, and the loincloth, sandals, and the hide bag. In general the clothing of these Bushmen is not essentially different from that of the Bushmen

/251 cont./

533 song. The melodies that I had an opportunity to observe were simple tone sequences which I vainly tried to arrange into a definite major or minor key such as is familiar to us. According to European concepts, the intervals are not pure. A common tonal sequence was the following, but in giving it I must

[535]

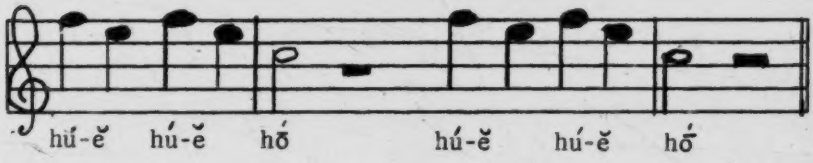
Fig. 5.

[535]

Fig. 6.

once more definitely stress that the intervals do not correspond precisely to those of our major key.

[539]



535 nature of the latter may be gathered from the following dances of the */Koma-khoin*, *Xom-khoin* and *Go-gara-khoin* groups of the Etosha Pan *Hei-//om*. The common dance among the */Koma-khoin* is the *ǂgami-sab-ǂnab*. Rattles (*/gunu-gu*) are worn round the legs of the dancers. It is danced by men who go round in a circle in Indian file while the women chant and clap their hands. Women, however, may join in the dance one at a time. When this happens and she wants to return to her companions the men as a rule try to prevent her leaving the circle by dancing round her. The *Xom-khoin* also dance the *ǂgami-sab-ǂnab* but without rattles as they do not know how to make the latter. Among the *Hei-//om* of the Etosha region the */gunu-gu* are used only by the */Koma-khoin* and *Go-gara-khoin*.

In the Jackal and Wolf dance (*/geirab tsi ǂhiras tsira ǂnab*) which is danced by men only, is represented an hyena, which is supposed to be feeding on a carcass, keeping off a couple of hungry jackals. Every now and again as the latter attempt to approach too close to the carcass the hyena scares them off and they jump out of the way.

The horse-dance (*ha-ǂnab*) is likewise danced by men only who go round quickly in a circle while the women clap their hands in imitation of the sound made by a galloping horse.

The */gae-ǂnab* or gemsbuck dance represents a gemsbuck bull, cow and calf being chased by two men with three or four dogs. The bull and cow carry horns but the calf does not. The gemsbuck lead and are followed by the men and dogs, who dance to and fro on the flanks until the animals are brought at bay. Then the men pretend to shoot and one of the buck goes down wounded while the others make off pursued by some of the dogs. The wounded animal fights in realistic fashion, sweeping at both man and dogs with its horns. The dance is continued until all the animals have been accounted for. Bows and arrows are represented by sticks in this dance.

The Kudu dance (*dau-ba-ǂnab*) is danced by men among the *Xom-khoin* while the women chant and clap their hands. In it are represented various phases in the life of a herd of kudu. The hands of some of the dancers are held up to imitate the horns of the bulls. From time to time as it is in progress a couple of women join in the dancing for a short time. Among the */Koma-khoin* it is danced by women.

773 There is a legend that in the olden days the Klipkaffirs
● 539 used to pay tribute daily in honey, öintjes, etc., to the *gei-*
535 *khoib* of the */Koma-khoin*. When for any reason they defaulted for two or three days, the *gei-khoib*, accompanied by his young men, set out for the Klipkaffir encampment to investigate. As soon as the latter became aware of the approach of the *gei-khoib* they grasped everything on which they could lay hands and made for his *//gāus*. On the way

they hurriedly collected whatever veldkos they came across, being closely followed by the *gei-khoib*. In the *ǂao-dama-ǂnab* or dance of the Klipkaffirs who live on the mountain tops, are depicted a couple of Klipkaffirs, carrying heavy loads and closely followed by the Bushmen armed with kirries. The Klipkaffirs are constantly glancing backwards as if anticipating a blow from a kirri. When they see any veldkos they squat down, hurriedly dig it up and place it in their bags. While on the way they are constantly being harassed and threatened with kirries by the pursuing Bushmen. The *ǂao-dama-ǂnab* originated with the Klipkaffirs to commemorate the time when they were held in bondage by the */Koma-khoin* and was taught by them to the latter. It is also known to other groups, *e.g.*, the *Xom-khoin*, but is danced mainly by the */Koma-khoin*. 773 539 535

The *Xom-khoin* have a dance in which are depicted the antics of a group of vultures at the carcass of a zebra. It is confined to men only but the women chant and clap their hands. The carcass is represented by a person lying down. A giant vulture is at the carcass. As the others, who are standing close together some distance away, approach in a row flapping their wings, he raises his wings and makes a dart at them which causes them to stop suddenly and retreat. This dance is known as *man-toea tsi gei-aniti-ǂnab*. 535

Among all the remaining tribes dances of a similar description are met with, being based as a rule on episodes in the lives of wild animals. Thus the *ǂAo-//ein* and *Naron* have the turtle dove, duiker, porcupine, guineafowl, jackal and other dances. Games are played by grown-up people of both sexes as well as by children. Among the *Hei-//om* the men play their games on an open place cleared of scrub outside the werft. The principal game is the *bies-//heib* which is played with a round tuber (*bies*). The players line up in two rows facing each other and the bies is rolled from one side to the other. As it approaches the opposite side each member of the latter in turn hurls a pointed stick, shaped like an assegaai (*hēi-heigu*) at it. If he misses, the *bies* is rolled to the now opposite side. If he should hit it the *bies* is left *in situ*, the sides cross over and it is rolled towards the winning side again. Those who have hit it have preference in hurling the *hei-heigu* at the *bies*. This game is played by the */Koma-khoin* only. 524

Among the games played by the women of these communities may be mentioned the *goarab-/hurub* or white monkey game of the *Xom-khoin*. A white monkey was once seen by a woman who ran home and told the others. The part of the monkey is taken by a woman who stands with her hands covering the sides of her face, leaving only a small opening for peeping through. She sways her head from side to side. The other women form up in a row opposite to her. One goes forward to look at the monkey, gazes at it intently and, when the latter starts moving its head from side to side, beckons and calls to the others to come and see the wonderful

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

possessions of Bantus and Europeans—horses and cattle, dogs, melon lands, medicines, rifles, boots, and trucks—as well as their enormous size, heavy necks and arms, great beards, and roaring voices. Europeans are beyond the powers of Bushmen's imagination, more awesome in stature, in possessions, in might, than even the Bushmen's god, who can be cajoled, who hunts with a bow and arrow. Bushmen consider the Europeans and the Bantus to be superior beings. Bantus and Europeans consider the Bushmen to be inferior beings, and, without resisting, a Bushman always bows to a European or a Bantu person's will.

Once an old man, a veld Bushman, told us the story of the reim and the grass fiber. A reim is a leather rope which the Bantus make by skinning a cow with a long, spiraling cut that goes around and around the body so that the hide comes off all in one piece a few inches wide and many yards long, which is then stretched and cured, making a piece of leather useful for harnessing oxen or building a hut.

"In the earliest days," the old man said, "the Bushmen and the non-Bushmen were all one nation, and the great god came to earth and gave them a rope. Half the rope was made of reim and half was made of grass fiber. The great god told all the people to pull on the rope, and the non-Bushmen came away with the reim, but the Bushmen got only the grass fiber. After that, the non-Bushmen had cattle and reims and all those things, but the Bushmen had only the things that are in the veld. If this ever happened again," the old man said, "I would tell the Bushmen to make sure they got the reim half."

So the distinction between people was caused by the great god, and the Bushmen, who want only to be left in peace, do not compete in issues which they cannot win. They are only frightened by other peoples and hope to be spared their atten-

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

252 from the yellow liver and threw that away, but he left the liver and the surrounding fat because he meant for that to be eaten.

The baby, Nhwakwe, who owned the tortoise, came to sit by his father, leaning on Gai's leg and watching, looking smiling into the belly of the tortoise. A tortoise is such a slow tough creature that its body can function although its heart is gone. Nhwakwe put his wrists to his forehead to [524] imitate in a most charming manner the way in which the tortoise was trying to hide. Nhwake looked just like the tortoise.

Gai frowned with concentration and worked with his mouth open, pulled down at the corners. When the intestines were removed, Gai stuffed the cavity with green leaves of the [263] kind that "make your gums numb," say the Bushmen, added for flavor, I believe. The tortoise at this retreated far into its shell with its legs pulled in tightly, and Gai heated the doors again to curl them down. Then he packed the opening with grass and the tortoise's dung, capped it with a tsama-melon cap, and put the tortoise into the oven that was prepared for it like a shallow little grave which the tortoise just fitted, a final agony, for the tortoise once more kicked and struggled as Gai raked hot coals over it. The steam escaping from the moist flesh caused the ashes to bubble and boil, and it was over; the meat was in the pot.

Gai flung the intestines away and sat down near his wife to 539 smoke, and I, who wished that they could at least have killed [776] the tortoise first, thought of the story of Pishiboro and one of his wives, an elephant. Pishiboro is one of the names of God.

One night, when Pishiboro and his younger brother were sleeping, the elephant wife took them both and rolled them between her thighs, which caused them great discomfort. The younger brother said to Pishiboro: "Let us go away now

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

while it is dark. This wife of yours may want to kill us with her attention." So they got up and slipped away. Next morning, when they were far away from Pishiboro's house, the younger brother looked back and saw the elephant wife coming after them. "Run on," he said to Pishiboro, "and I will stay behind and talk with her." So Pishiboro ran on and the younger brother waited. When the elephant wife came up, the younger brother said to her: "I see that you have a big louse in your flesh there. Let me take it out for you." The elephant wife agreed to let him, and Pishiboro's younger brother took a long thorn and pricked the elephant wife on her chest, right under her beads.

"Oh, you are hurting me," said the elephant wife.

"Don't flinch," said Pishiboro's younger brother. "This louse is very deep in your flesh." With that the younger brother pierced her heart and she fell dead.

The younger brother then built a fire, cut off the breast of the elephant wife, and roasted it. When it was cooked he sat up on the body of the elephant wife to eat it, and it was there that Pishiboro, returning to see what had happened, noticed him sitting way up over the tops of the bushes. "Ah, can it be," thought Pishiboro, "that my younger brother has killed my wife and is sitting on her body?" When Pishiboro ran forward he found that his worst suspicion was absolutely true.

Pishiboro was wildly angry, but his younger brother handed him some of the roasted breast, which presently Pishiboro ate. The younger brother looked down at Pishiboro and said in a voice filled with scorn: "Oh, you fool. You lazy man. You were married to meat and you thought it was a wife." Pishiboro saw that this was true, so he sharpened his knife and helped his younger brother with the skinning.

. . .

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

821 But Ukwane said that he had been talking and singing all evening and his voice was hoarse from telling about the inside of the springbok (which by now was partly cooked and eaten). He was, in fact, too hoarse to answer questions and would rather tell a story if he had to talk. We said that
539 we would like to hear a story, and the Bushmen said that they would also like to hear some stories, so Ukwane told the last part of the story of Pishiboro and his elephant wife.

In the morning, after the elephant wife had frightened Pishiboro and his younger brother, before she had followed them away, she had told her elephant parents that she had married a man whose people might eat her, and that they should give up hope of ever seeing her again. Pishiboro knew that she had spoken with her parents, and while he was sitting upon her body with his brother, eating the breast, he looked around anxiously for he knew not what. Soon some elephant beetles came up to eat the uterus, for the elephant wife was pregnant, and when Pishiboro saw this he became very alarmed that the fetus would be eaten and he asked his brother to chase the beetles away. But the brother did not, and when Pishiboro was looking the other way, seeming to have forgotten, the brother cut open the womb, and the fetus came out.

"Oh, you foolish man," said Pishiboro. "I told you not to do that. You are lazy and stupid, and now the fetus will go to the elephant's parents and say what we have done."

Pishiboro then asked his brother to dig a hole to catch the fluid from the womb, but when the brother went to do this the fluid flowed past him. Pishiboro scrambled to dig another hole, but the fluid flowed past him, too, and only a little was caught. Pishiboro and his brother drank it.

The large part of the fluid went on until it came to the

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

scherm of the elephant's father. It went in the front and out 539
the back, and then came to the scherm of the elephant's brother, and when the father and mother of the elephant saw the fluid they knew it was from the womb of their daughter, and all the elephants gathered together to go and kill the people.

Meanwhile, Pishiboro's brother thought until he thought of a plan. He then went off alone and, finding an anthill, asked the anthill to open itself, which it did. He prepared many anthills in this way, and then returned to Pishiboro, who was cutting up the meat, but told him nothing of his plans.

After a while the brother, who had been watching the direction taken by the fluid very carefully, saw the elephants coming, and he told Pishiboro to go to the anthill which he had prepared, but when Pishiboro got there and asked the anthill to open, it did not, and presently, when the elephants were very near, the brother found Pishiboro standing there helplessly. The brother then said to the anthill: "Please open, so that this fool can go inside," and the anthill opened and Pishiboro went inside. The brother waited for the elephants alone.

When the elephants came, two of them tried to stab Pishiboro's brother with a knife, but the brother flew up onto their shoulders and they fell dead. In this way he killed them all, all except one old, old elephant which he did not want to kill because it was so old and useless. Instead, he asked the anthill to open again so that Pishiboro could come out and kill it for him. Pishiboro came out and farted on the elephant three times and the old elephant was not affected, but when the brother farted once, the elephant fell dead.

Then Pishiboro's brother sang this song:

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

539 *My brother is older, but he kills only little things.*
I am younger, but I kill big things.

And that was the end of the story. Everyone asked Ukwane to tell more, so he told many. One of them interested us particularly because of its vague similarity to one of our own. It is the story of how carnal knowledge came to Pishiboro, for although he had two human wives (or perhaps goddesses, as he himself was god), he did not know what to do with them.

Pishiboro was digging a hole. When he had finished he told his wives to go to look at it while he went hunting in a different direction, but instead the two wives went to get tsama melons. They found one melon, brought it home, and, taking out the seeds, were grinding them to powder when Pishiboro arrived. The two wives had taken their own genital organs and had mixed these with the melon seeds which they were grinding. Pishiboro ate the mixture, which he thought was very nice, and he jumped to his feet and asked his wives where they got such nice meat.

"Oh," they said, "we told you when you left that you were going in the wrong direction. You should have come to the hole with us because when we got there we found a baby giraffe inside, but we could not get it out, so we cut pieces off its feet, and this was the meat you found so good."

They slept, and the next day they all went to the hole. The two wives had, in the meantime, defecated into the hole until it was full. When Pishiboro leaned over it to look for the giraffe, they toppled him in; then, laughing and shrieking, they ran away and climbed into a camel-thorn tree.

From the depth of his hole, Pishiboro looked up at his wives in the tree, and as he looked it came to him what

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

wives were for, and he climbed up the tree and possessed them, and they conceived, and when the children were born they dropped from the tree like fruit. 539 ●

Then the whole family came down, and as they were walking away Pishiboro found a night adder's home. Only the baby snakes were there; the parents had gone out. The Pishiboro family laughed at the baby snakes because they had such ugly faces, and when they had laughed all they could they went home to their scherm. That night the baby snakes told their mother what had happened, and in the morning, when Pishiboro returned for another laugh, the baby snakes were dancing and the mother snake was hiding in a little hole she had made. Pishiboro, too, began to dance, and when he danced by the hole the mother snake jumped out and bit him, and although he ran away the poison was working in him, and soon he was ill and in great pain.

The omarambas, the dry valleys in the land, are furrows that Pishiboro made on his way home because he suffered so much, and the hills at the sides of the omarambas were made by his kicking feet.

Pishiboro died from the snake bite, and now all the water that flows in the rivers in the north, all the rain, and all the water that collects in pools is the rottenness of Pishiboro, liquid made as his dead body began to decay.

After that, Ukwane stopped telling stories. He brightened the fire by adding a stick, and the light showed everyone's face. Firelight does not dispel darkness. It just shows things in the darkness while the darkness is still there. Behind Ukwane's back we saw the shapes of the young boys bending over something, and we asked Ukwane what they were about. He told us that they were setting a snare for a mouse, a 224

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

533 the minute incident that may have inspired the composition. Ukwane had composed this song himself, and from time to time he sang the words "bitter melons."

We stopped to listen, caught in the net of music which Ukwane had cast into the air, for it was a soft, sad song that he hummed and played, a song in a minor key to wring your heart, to make you think of places far away and make you feel like crying. Ukwane was so dark that he could hardly be seen against the black veld, and all that showed clearly was the yellow reed tapping and his filmed blue eyes. When he finished the song he put down his bow. We asked him what
● 534 the song was about and he told us: "If you are walking in the veld, and you remember where a field of melons was growing and you go there and find them but when you taste them they are bitter, so you can't eat them, you leave them, that is what this song is about."

We asked him to play another song and he obliged, playing a shorter, rhythmic one called "Pass on the Other Side," beautiful to our ears but not as beautiful as "Bitter Melons," a song Ukwane had composed when he had been humiliated. He had come into a werf where the people were sitting in a circle taking turns smoking a pipe, and Ukwane, who had wanted to smoke very badly, had seated himself beside the person who was smoking, hoping to be next in turn, but that person passed the pipe by Ukwane, and Ukwane did not receive it until all the others had smoked first. He had felt so badly to be treated in this way that he had gone for a walk in the veld, and while walking he had composed the song.

He sang one more song, which was called "A Song of Shouting," a song about his wife's brother who had lost his way in the veld near Ukwane's werf, and had shouted, expecting someone in the werf to answer him, to give him the direction, but no one had bothered to call to him. That night

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

that the great trains dragging hampered its mating, would twist and thrash and struggle, squeezing the wings between its thorax and abdomen, which did break off the wings but left the stubs. More and more ants were flying to the light and their circles were growing bigger and bigger until we couldn't move without stepping on them, but the women, getting more excited and moving very quickly, as if responding to the pace and the excitement of the ants, scooped them up and ate them as fast as they landed, spitting out the silver wings as one would spit out chaff. Over our heads a few night birds and many bats were flying, catching and eating the ants before they reached the ground, and around our feet huge pink hunting-spiders rushed in and out of the swarm, dragging the ants from their acts of copulation and carrying them away to eat them in the dark.

Before long the flight had ended. Only a few late-coming ants bumped against the light, the night birds and bats were gone, and the spiders had run away. Nothing was left but the white wings like petals all over the ground and the wings that were caught in people's throats or stuck to their faces. The women, quite composed now, brushed themselves off, and one of them sang a song:

Gurico gum, ah
Ah, ah.

I noticed that each woman had managed to save a little bag or vegetable husk full of ants for her husband. These they put away.

That was in the late spring, a fertile season full of promise, and when it was over the best season of the year began, called the Veld Food Season, which starts some time in March. The big rains have ended, the air is warm but not hot, the veld is filled with water, game, fruit, roots, and

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

Those were two willful girls, too beautiful, too proud, too much admired, but the young boys couldn't do enough for them. It was one of their admirers who cleared the grass for the werf that the cousin's parents were building, and though the two girls teased and ridiculed the boy all the while, snickering contemptuously at him from behind their swinging beads, he worked on happily until not a blade of grass remained.

But Beautiful Ungka and her cousin were not as sophisticated as they thought they were, really, for when they would hear the music of the melon game they would abandon their poise and decorum to run for the sound, arms waving, ornaments and clothing streaming out behind, and when they found the game they had been hearing they would jump into the middle of it and play with abandon, singing loudly and dancing fast for fun. Also, Beautiful Ungka could spit through her teeth like a man. She could draw back her head and spit ten feet and she did this often, smiling scornfully, an astonishing accomplishment for such a handsome girl. Her cousin used to try it too; she could spit a little way but not nearly as far as Beautiful Ungka.

After all, they were only sixteen. There is a Bushman mood song with these words:

I am tired and old and without people,
I wish I could marry a young girl.

There were so many great fires around Nama that the sky was dark with their smoke, and when the sun rose in the morning, one day shortly after we had got there, we could not even see it until it was far above the horizon and then it appeared red and enormous, murky. In the west two new fires had sprung up, perhaps lit by Bushmen to show where they were

13: Marshall E-5 (1952-1955) 1962 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

776 782 In spite of their reluctance to say the gods' names in serious discussion, the /Kung say them in blasphemy. (The word for cursing or blasphemy is *aa*. Cursing is also called ' mouth-medicine '.) The medicine men curse the gods when they are combating their evil intents in the curing ceremony. A light-hearted blasphemy also occurs among the /Kung, as among ourselves, and the names slip from men's mouths in an insouciant way, as though they did not really mean them, as we say ' God Almighty! ' or ' Jesus Christ! ' in our inconsequential swearing.

I wondered if we should find that certain names were more closely associated with certain phenomena, like lightning or rain, or with special functions, such as presiding over childbirth, but all my inquiries on this theme led me to the conclusion that the names do not have such associations. There appears to be, however, a vague tendency, though not a strict rule, to associate some names more with benefaction, others more with ill treatment of the people. *Gani ga*, which is a very respectful name, seemed to come to mind when they wanted to show that they were well disposed towards the god and wanted to thank him or ask him sweetly to help them. */Gara* and *≠Gaishi ≠gai* we heard spoken in anger. They are ' scolding ' names. One man used *Hwov* when he spoke of the greatness and power of the god, saying ' *Hwov* was the tallest of the Bushmen, a great man with many names ', and *Hishe* was the name used when the creator said, ' I am *Hishe*. I am unknown.' *Kxo* was not often uttered. The name *//Gauwa* will be discussed later.

Two Images of *≠GAO/NA*

≠Gao/na, *the Protagonist of the Old Tales*

776 ● 539 *≠Gao/na*, we were told, was the oldest name of the great god. Through that name the /Kung identify the great god with an old *≠Gao/na*, the protagonist of many ancient tales. Some sense of logical necessity, I believe, compelled the /Kung to merge the two concepts so that they say, when they are asked, that the *≠Gao/na* of the tales and the great god are the same being, but this is a forced and superficial verbal resolution, for the two beings could hardly be more different. The people, I believe, really imagine them as different, and behave in quite a different manner as they speak of them. They tell the tales of the old *≠Gao/na*'s doings without restraint, [522] say his name aloud, howl and roll on the ground with laughter at his humiliations, whereas, when they speak of the great one in the east, they whisper and avoid his name. Yet they think that somehow in the rightness of things these two beings must be one, so one they are said to be.

The old *≠Gao/na* was a kind of culture hero. He had supernatural powers. He could change himself into other forms and could change people into animals, bring people back to life, &c. He was a great magician, with powers over magic substances and objects. But, although he gave fire to mankind, he could not be called a great [372] benefactor of mankind. He wanted fire for himself because he liked cooked food and gave the fire to man rather as an afterthought. He was not very much concerned with man or with man's morals. He was not the death-giver, involved in the mysterious inevitable necessity of death, or a wrathful punisher, like Jehovah. Such vengeance as he took was not a mighty vengeance but only a getting back at those who tricked [266] him. And usually his reason for killing someone was his own hunger. In those oldet days, according to the tales, people were always eating one another or parts of one

13: Marshall E-5 (1952-1955) 1962 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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another or parts of themselves. In appearance and other characteristics the old ≠*Gao/na* was more man-like than supernatural. He lived on the earth among men. Like men he was subject to passions, hungers, sins, stupidities, failures, frustrations, and humiliations, but men imagine his to be on a larger scale and more grotesque than their own. Like Bushmen of today, his great concerns were hunger and sex. To the /Kung the two worst sins, the unthinkable, unspeakable sins, are cannibalism and incest. ≠*Gao/na* committed both these sins quite unconcernedly. He ate his older brother-in-law and his younger brother-in-law and raped his son's wife.

≠Gao/na, *his* Tun/ga (*the Fat Paouw*), *and the Pit*[1]

≠*Gao/na*'s wives were sisters. They had a brother who was a paouw. One day ≠*Gao/na* met the paouw, his *tun/ga*. [*Tun/ga* is the kin term for wife's brother older than the speaker.] His *tun/ga* was very fat. A fat paouw has bags of fat under his wings. ≠*Gao/na* and his *tun/ga* spoke together and parted. ≠*Gao/na* was surprised to see so much fat. He said, 'Oh, how fat my *tun/ga* is.' A few miles on they met again. ≠*Gao/na* said, 'Look, do you see that veld fire over there?' He pointed with his arm away up. The paouw said, 'Do you mean *that* fire?' He pointed, but only with a restricted gesture, keeping his wing to his side. 'No, ≠*Gao/na* said, 'THAT fire,' and he pointed with his arm far up, his whole armpit showing. 'I see it,' said the paouw, and he stretched his wing far up to point. ≠*Gao/na* was standing behind him. He seized the fat below the paouw's wing and cut it off and ran home. The paouw cursed ≠*Gao/na*. 'Break your bones and die,' he said. 'Die of a broken back or die of a broken neck,' he said.

≠*Gao/na* took the fat home and rubbed his wooden basins with it. His wives came home and found the wooden basins covered with fat and they asked him what he had eaten that was so fat. ≠*Gao/na* said that he got the fat from a puff adder. He said he beat it with a stick until the fat from the front went down the back to the middle, and beat the tail until the fat from the back went up the back to the middle. ≠*Gao/na* now planned how he would get his *tun/ga*. He slept that night. The next morning he set snares under the tree where the paouw went to eat gum. ≠*Gao/na* then met the paouw again. The paouw was wary and wouldn't come near. ≠*Gao/na* said, 'Why are you so wild with me?' [Wild is the opposite of tame, domesticated, or confident.] 'There is a tree there with gum under it but my eyes are not good enough to see it.' He said,' Let us have a contest; we shall see who can see the gum first. The one who sees it first must run and snatch it.' So they went to the tree and saw the gum. The paouw ran fast to get it, and ≠*Gao/na* ran too but he did not run so fast. The paouw snatched the gum and the snare caught him, and ≠*Gao/na* ran up and clubbed him, and carried him home. ≠*Gao/na*'s wives were out for veldkos. He put the fat from the other wing in a small pot and the body of the paouw in a big pot. When the wing fat was ready he ate it, and ate and ate, but he ate too much and he went out and had diarrhoea. The wives came home and suspected that perhaps he had killed their brother. The paouw began to expand in the pot and he swelled and swelled until *kaah!* the pot burst and pieces of meat came whizzing out so that ≠*Gao/na* had to duck away from them. When all the meat was out, the paouw came back together again and flew away. ≠*Gao/na* chased after him but the wives called to him, 'Come back, you forgot your stick.' ≠*Gao/na* came back and got his stick and ran after the paouw again. The wives called him, 'Come back, you forgot your

[1] I wish to acknowledge with gratitude and pleasure the assistance of our daughter, Elizabeth Marshall Thomas, in gathering the material of the old tales, as well as other data. The first tale is hers. In paraphrasing the tales, we adhered to the events, the ideas, and the details, incorporating them as they were told us, but we have put the tales into our own words, attempting to preserve something of the quality of the telling as it came to our ears.

539 sandals.' ≠*Gao/na* came back and got his sandals and ran after the paouw again, but the paouw was gone by this time. ≠*Gao/na* cursed at his wives, 'You stupid lazy women, why were you so lazy that you lay down and didn't stir the pot?' The wives were much annoyed that ≠*Gao/na* had wanted to eat their brother.

Next day ≠*Gao/na* went hunting. While he was away his wives, because they were very annoyed, turned themselves into */qui twa* veldkos [a veldkos which is like small cucumbers]. When ≠*Gao/na* came home he saw the pile of ripe */qui twa* and ate them all. Then he came and sat by the fire. Soon he heard something laughing. He looked around but no one was there. He heard the laughing again and looked around. 'What is that?' he said, but he could see nothing. He heard the laughing again and again. 'Where is that laughing coming from?' he said. It was his wives inside him laughing at him and at this they kicked and kicked until they burst his stomach open and came out and were women again. ≠*Gao/na* was very surprised. How did he eat his wives? he wondered. */Narn*, a dung beetle, then came to sew up ≠*Gao/na*'s stomach. It was very sore. ≠*Gao/na* squirmed and struggled when */narn* pricked him. Then came a little *zwa zwa* fly. He took over the sewing and sewed so gently that it was only like a tickling. ≠*Gao/na* was healed and soothed and he slept.

Next day ≠*Gao/na* went hunting again. He was annoyed with his wives for tricking him into eating them and for laughing in his stomach and bursting him open. Presently he came upon some fruit. He said, 'Oh, if only I had my sister or mother to gather veldkos for me!' He turned back and told his wives where the fruit was and went on the other way. The wives went to gather the fruit, but ≠*Gao/na* with his medicine had made the heavy fruit able to fly from the tree and hit the women so that they ran away crying. [The /Kung who were telling the story made the sounds which the fruits made bombarding the women, slapping
[522] themselves, crying like the wives, and rolling over with laughter.]

The wives returned to their werf. They were quite sad because their husband had treated them in this way and they discussed what they would do to get even with him. Next day they went out for veldkos again. They came to a place which they decided was right for their plan. They dug a big pit. Into it they opened their bowels and the pit was full of faeces. They then went to their werf and waited for ≠*Gao/na*. When he returned they said, 'If only we had a brother, he would go and kill the little eland we saw.'

≠*Gao/na* said, 'My wives, *I* shall go for you.'

They said, 'We know you are lazy, but our brother would go.'

But ≠*Gao/na* said, 'No, my wives, I shall go for you tomorrow.' So they slept. The next day the wives led him to the place where they said they had seen the little eland, where they had made the pit. They said, 'There it is, by that tree. You must go quietly.'

≠*Gao/na* brought an arrow out to shoot the eland, but the wives said, 'You lazy man, do not shoot it; catch it.' So ≠*Gao/na* got out his spear and the wives said, 'You will let all the blood run out. We like the blood to eat. That is what we meant when we said we wished we had our brother here to kill the little eland.'

So ≠*Gao/na* put his spear away. The wives said, 'Right there is where the little eland is; you must jump on it and catch it. We shall go on either side to help you.' And, when they were near, they said, 'Jump and fall on it and catch it.'

≠*Gao/na* got all set and made himself steady. Then he jumped and fell into the pit and the wives ran in every direction, laughing and saying how lazy he was. There he was in the pit. He could not stand up. He slithered around 'like a snake', the people said with graphic gestures and shrieks of laughter. He got up and fell down again, he got up again and fell
[195] again, swearing at his wives and cursing them. 'These wives are very cruel.' [The people imitated his voice, higher than a man's voice and mumbling.] When ≠*Gao/na* finally got out of the pit he went to a water-hole and washed himself and walked home in the evening thinking of what he would do to his wives to punish them.

13: Marshall E-5 (1952-1955) 1962 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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Eyes-on-His-Feet

≠Gao/na's younger brother-in-law, his *tsu/gama*, was named Eyes-on-His-Feet. He and *≠Gao/na* went together to gather veldkos. They found *//karu*. After a time they came to a place where they wanted to stay and made a fire to roast the *//karu*. While they were sitting by the fire *≠Gao/na* watched his *tsu/gama*'s feet and saw what looked like eyes. He tossed dust on them and the eyes blinked. *≠Gao/na* said, 'These are really his eyes. His face is just smooth. His eyes are on his feet.' *≠Gao/na* then asked the *tsu/gama* to lean over and press the *//karu* down into the ashes so that they would be all covered and would roast evenly. While the *tsu/gama* was doing this, *≠Gao/na* threw coals on his feet and burned his eyes. This weakened the *tsu/gama* and *≠Gao/na* was easily able to cover him all over with coals and roast him. While the *tsu/gama* was roasting there was a sound, *tsi i its ii tsi ii* (like meat sizzling), and the *tsu/gama* put a magic curse on *≠Gao/na*'s mouth. When the *tsu/gama* was well roasted, *≠Gao/na* ate all he could of him and put what he could not eat into a bag. He then tried to eat the *//karu*. He put one up to his mouth but his mouth would not open. He took another. It fell down to the side. *≠Gao/na* could neither speak nor eat. He put the *//karu* into the bag with the remains of the *tsu/gama* and went back to his people in the werf and ordered them to make a dance to cure his mouth. He danced and danced with them and treated himself. While he was dancing, his wives took his bag and ate what was left of Eyes-on-His-Feet and all the *//karu* but one. [The story makes no point of the fact that they were eating their brother, albeit unknowingly, and one feels the omission hovering on the edge of being said.] Then they filled the bag with earth and put the *//karu* on top. Suddenly *≠Gao/na*'s mouth was cured. He went to get his bag to finish his *tsu/gama*, put in his hand, took some earth, and tossed it into his mouth. He spat and swore at his wives. 'You silly women,' he said, 'what have you done?' And he thought what he would do to them. Next evening he called for another dance. A woman got up to dance but *≠Gao/na* said, 'No, I want a good singer to dance with me, not you.' At last ≠Tamsa, the wife who had put the earth in the bag, got up to dance. She danced around *≠Gao/na*, he danced around her, and when she came near he beat her fiercely on the stomach with his stick, until her stomach hung down below her groin. She fell unconscious and all the other wives took her and ran away and treated and treated her, crying, until she was all right. This is why Bushmen have stomachs that hang down.

≠Toma and /Qui thought this was an awful story. /Qui said he did not know why *≠Gao/na* ate his *tsu/gama*. He thought the reason could not have been mere hunger—after all, /Qui pointed out, he had *//karu*. There must have been some other reason. ≠Toma said, '*≠Gao/na* is evil. Even now he goes about killing people.'

In another version the awfulness of eating a human being is modified by having Eyes-on-His-Feet come to life again. During the dance, *≠Gao/na*'s stomach began to ache and make sounds and to swell, as with severe constipation. Suddenly it burst open and Eyes-on-His-Feet sprang out, as the wives had done after their laughter, whole and alive. In still another version *≠Gao/na* turns ≠Tamsa into a bird called *chue*, a white and yellow bird about as big as a dove. This is one of the birds which the /Kung eat. They grab it in tree-holes when it is nesting. All my efforts to learn more about the possible identity of Eyes-on-His-Feet availed nothing. I wondered if he were not originally some veldkos, for instance, with a formation that suggested eyes, or an animal turned into a human being, or personified, like the paouw, but our /Kung informants did not know. The old people had not told them.

When my inquiries suggested to my informants that I expected them, possibly, to

13: Marshall E-5 (1952-1955) 1962 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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539 [154] know something which they did not know, they became defensive. /U said that her mother was lazy and did not tell her stories. That was why she knew so little. Old Xama said that her mother died when she was young, so she had remained ignorant.

[522] The story of ≠*Gao/na*'s raping his son's pretty young wife is long and detailed and is recounted with humour and great enjoyment by the /Kung. ≠*Gao/na* tried to be away with the women alone while they were gathering veldkos. First he changed himself into a baby wildebeest, pretended that he was dead, and let the women pick him up. That plan did not work, so he made another. He disguised himself very cleverly as his own sister and went with the women to gather when they stayed overnight, and raped his son's wife, Te, in her sleep. In the morning when the women discovered who he was, he tried to persuade Te that it was not he but her husband, Kxoma, who had been there in the night, but Te knew it was not and was terribly upset. The women decided not to tell Kxoma or Khan//a, because they were afraid the sons would kill their father, so they all kept quiet when they returned and they lived in peace.

These stories have become very mixed up. In another version, the pit episode is used again. It is the sons' wives who dig the pit and entice ≠*Gao/na* to jump into it in revenge for ≠*Gao/na*'s ' spoiling ' Te. The substance in the pit is not faeces but ≠*Gao/na*'s own semen. The women shape the semen into the form of a young giraffe. When ≠*Gao/na* finally gets out of this pit he cleans himself by rubbing himself on trees.

≠Gao/na *and His Stupid Generosity*

≠*Gao/na* sometimes prevails in his endeavours, but he has lapses and often appears to be far from clever. In one story he is both stupid and generous—too generous. This is a very long story in which Kxoma and Khan//a, his sons, kill an eland. Lions come and kill the sons. With the help of *zam zam*, the little tortoise, who was a person then and another brother of his wives, ≠*Gao/na* kills the lions by magic and restores his sons to life. The story ends in their all returning to the werf with the eland meat. They walk along. They meet a man. They give him gifts of meat. This man quickly hides his meat in a tree, then, dodging along behind some bushes, he runs ahead and meets ≠*Gao/na* and his party again. The sons and *zam zam* say, ' We have already given you some meat', but ≠*Gao/na* cannot remember and gives meat again. A third and a fourth time the man runs ahead and ≠*Gao/na* gives again, [522] in this way. [Dam and /Qui were speechless with laughter acting this out.] For the fifth time the man runs ahead and ≠*Gao/na* does not remember him and gives him his last bundle of meat. ≠*Gao/na* would now have to return to his wives without any meat for them, but instead he hits his buttocks very hard. He hits them and hits them until he knocks his insides out. He cuts his insides into pieces, like meat, and takes them to his werf. Others have meat but he has none except his own insides. He cooks them for his wives. They say the meat is too tough to eat and ask, ' Why do the others have nice eland meat and you only this? ' He says it is eland meat but that it has become dry. ≠*Gao/na* and his wives go hungry.

A story about ≠*Gao/na*'s getting fire was told in several versions. In one of them the name *Hwve* was used. That was the only time I heard the protagonist of the tales called by any name but ≠*Gao/na*.

≠Gao/na *and the Fire Sticks*

There was a time when no one had fire except one man whose name was /Kai /Kini. He had fire and the name of this fire was *doro*. [The word for fire is *da*.] *Doro* was made with fire

13: Marshall E-5 (1952-1955) 1962 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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sticks. /Kai /Kini cooked his food with the fire. Other people ate raw food. One day ≠*Gao/na* 539
was walking in the veld and he came upon the place where /Kai /Kini was living. He was not there but his children were. They were eating cooked *//karu*. ≠*Gao/na* asked for some and found it very good. 'Oh, you eat nice cooked food,' said ≠*Gao/na*. 'How do you cook it?' The children said, 'Our father has a nice thing and he always gives us cooked food. He does all the best for us.' ≠*Gao/na* said, 'I shall come back tomorrow and eat this kind of food again.'

Next day he went back. As he was walking along he saw /Kai /Kini and his children digging for food in the ground and he hid himself and watched. When they had gathered enough, they went back to their werf and /Kai /Kini went and got his fire sticks from the place where he had hidden them. He twirled and twirled and twirled the male stick against the female stick, saying, 'Fire will come; fire will come.' When the fire was made and the food was cooking, /Kai /Kini hid his fire sticks again. ≠*Gao/na* was watching all the time. When the food was dished up, he came out from his hiding-place and sat down by the fire and they all ate together.

After a while ≠*Gao/na* said, 'Now we must make a game to play', and he made a *jani* toy, mounting it with a guinea-fowl feather, weighting it with a *tsi* nut. He tossed it into the air with his stick and, when it floated down, ran and caught it and tossed it up again and again without its ever falling to the ground. /Kai /Kini wanted to play. ≠*Gao/na* gave him the *jani*, but /Kai /Kini could not toss it high and did not get away from his house in following it. ≠*Gao/na* said the guinea-fowl feather was no good, they must put a big paouw feather on it. This they did and the *jani* flew high. ≠*Gao/na* then opened the wind and the wind blew from the eastern side and blew the *jani* toward the west. /Kai /Kini followed and followed it, fascinated, tossing it higher each time he caught it. ≠*Gao/na* followed /Kai /Kini and, when they came to the place where the fire sticks were hidden, he seized them and ran with them into the veld. As he ran he broke them into little pieces and then threw them the whole world over. 'All the world is going to get fire now', he said. 'Fire, fire, go over the world.' Since then there has been fire in every piece of wood and all men can get it out and cook their food. /Kai /Kini stopped playing and looked at ≠*Gao/na*. ≠*Gao/na* told him, 'It is not right that you alone should have fire. From now on you will not be a person', and he changed /Kai /Kini into a bird named ≠*ore*.

These events were told by the old old people. They happened long ago.

The Present Image: /Gao/na, *the Creator*

In his present image, the image of power, ≠*Gao/na*, the creator and controller of 776
all things, is very different from the old protagonist. Bushman informants insisted on their belief, nevertheless, that ≠*Gao/na* of the tales and ≠*Gao/na*, the great god of the eastern sky, are one and the same. For them, through the name, one being has merged into the other and a continuity has been maintained.

The /Kung did not bring up the question of how his nature became so changed. [177
I surmise that it may have been when the name *Huwe* found its way from the Berg- 178]
dama to the /Kung, and the name *Hishe* from the Auen, that certain elements of the present image came in, changing the earthly old ≠*Gao/na* into a lofty sky god. But I know nothing about the names */Gara*, *Gami ga*, and ≠*Gaishi* ≠*gai* and nothing about the time or order in which the names may have been created by the /Kung, or adopted, or with which characteristic one or the other may be associated. I *am* sure that current emotional needs and the imaginations of the people who are now living have continued to be at work upon the image, interpreting it, re-creating it, and bringing it to its present form.

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
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622 562 refer to one woman as a "headman"), nor does her husband. A headman's daughter, as it were, holds the place until her son is born to fill it. Primogeniture would be in force: the eldest daughter's son would take precedence over a younger daughter's son. If a daughter's husband is an effective person by nature, he could lead the band and perform the functions of headman indefinitely. The band, on the other hand, might find it more advantageous not to wait for a son to be born to the headman's daughter but to realign itself under another headman. Within the proper frame of kinship this is a voluntary matter.

782 539 (11) I paraphrase some of the prayers as follows:

"You have created me and given me power to walk about and hunt. Why do you lead me in the wrong way so that I find no animals?"

"Give rain, *!Nau*, wet the earth. Let there be veldkos. We are starving because we have to stay by the water hole where there is no more veldkos. You have favored some people with rain. Will you not favor us?"

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484 because it entailed two consecutive days of hardhiking on short water rations. The object of such a trip was to get to the nuts and back again as quickly as possible, before the physiological deficit of water was allowed to reduce efficiency.

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262 The general object of the winter nutting trips was to remain at the nut forests just long enough to eat a really substantial quantity of nuts (about 400 nuts per adult). This marathon meal starts the moment that the Bushmen arrive at the nut camps and continues throughout their stay. It is interrupted for short periods when the Bushmen go out to collect nuts in the vicinity of their temporary camp. There is a Bushman saying that aptly applies to this situation: "It is better to carry food home in your stomach than on your back."

[539]

[224] Hunting rarely occurs at these overnight camps. The efforts of men and women alike are directed to eating as many nuts as possible in a short time.

[312] The most important variation in the late winter and spring subsistence tactics centers on the use of Fockea monroi as a source of water. This will be discussed below.

132 6. Early Spring

August is the last month of winter. The last of the freezing nights occurs at the first of the month and these are followed by warmer nights in the 40's and 50's and daily

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
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222 622 [184] A somewhat different ceremony, also connected with the collection of veldkos, is held by the Kung.[1] Once a year, when the edible bulbs of the veld are beginning to ripen at the beginning of the rainy season, the head of the band on a morning fixed by him calls together all the inhabitants of the camp before sunrise. He then takes up some faggots mixed with dry grass and straw, and all squat down in a circle around him. On the ground near the firewood lies a piece of wood, in which is bored a hole. In this hole is placed a freshly-broken twig of the wild fig-tree. A lit pipe is handed to the headman. He takes it in both hands, held palm to palm, and twists it about over the wood until its burning content falls on to the grass, which becomes kindled into flames. During this performance he repeats the following prayer to [782] Huwe, a supernatural being: "Father, I come to you, I pray to you, [539] please give me food and all things, that I may live." When the fire has burned out the members of the band scatter to seek the new bulbs, which up till now they might not touch.

222 184 These two ceremonies are the only ones on record indicating the presence of a special cult among the Bushmen in connection with the gathering of veldkos; but, as will be shown later, in all the Bushman tribes there are numerous other ritual observances and beliefs which may be regarded as centring in the sources of food supply, although they are somewhat different in nature from the two just described.

312 [462] [857] [415] [237] Water must also be fetched every day from the waterhole. This is generally the task of the children, but if the distance is far the women go, and occasionally even the men. The water is stored in ostrich egg-shells in one end of which is bored a hole which can be plugged with grass. These are carried about in a net of woven fibre or in skin bags. The stomach of a buck is also sometimes used as a water-bottle.

312 182 [221] [621] The supply of water is one of the most acute problems facing the Bushmen in the Kalahari and Namib Deserts. It affects their mode of life to a very considerable extent, for it not only regulates the migrations of the people, but also their cohesion, since, as we have seen, in many cases the different families constituting a band live together only in the rainy season, to scatter apart as soon as the dry season returns. Moreover, upon the supply of water depends the growth both of the veldkos and also of the grass upon which the game lives, so that the whole subsistence of the Bushmen is intimately bound [823] up with it. This intimate dependence, as we shall subsequently see,

[1] Vedder, "Grammatik der !Kũ-Buschmannsprache," 6–7.

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Chapter VII

RELIGION AND MAGIC

Death and Burial

771 In discussing the social customs and economic life of the Bushmen we have had occasion to note incidentally various usages and beliefs, connected for instance with puberty and especially with food, which point to the existence of some conception of supernatural agencies, and indicate how intimately religion really enters into the everyday activities of the people. The customs and beliefs associated with death afford a further insight into the religion of the Bushmen, for we meet here with their ideas of a future state as well as of spiritual beings.

539 773 [761] The origin of death is recorded in the fable of the Moon and the Hare, which is told with some variation by all the Bushman and Hottentot tribes, as well as by certain Bantu peoples. The version found among the Cape Bushmen states that the Moon once appeared to the young Hare, telling him not to cry at the death of his mother, for she was not really dead but sleeping, and would return again living, just as the Moon dies and returns again living. But the young Hare did not believe this, and continued to cry, saying that the Moon was deceiving him, whereupon the Moon, infuriated, cursed the Hare and cleft his lip. In another, more widespread, rendering the Moon instructs the Hare to deliver the following message to mankind: "As I die and return again, so shall man die and return again." The Hare distorts the message and tells the men that they will die and not return again. The Moon curses the Hare and cleaves his lip, but ever since then death has existed on earth.[1]

761 [754] There is not much information regarding the Bushman beliefs as to the actual causes of death. The Cape Bushman apparently recognized that deaths could occur purely by accident, as in the case of a wound from a poisoned arrow, the bite of a lion or leopard, starvation, etc. On the other hand, there was also a strong belief

[1] Bleek, *Bushman Texts*, 9–10; Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, 56 sqq.; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 44–5; Dornan, *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 172.

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asked to make use of the special powers they had possessed in life and apparently still retained, just as they would be approached when alive. The main conclusion to be drawn, in fact, is that these Bushmen do not regard dead people as wholly severed from the world of the living. There is certainly nothing here to warrant the assumption of any regular organized worship of the dead.

Worship of Heavenly Bodies

Religious cult among the Cape Bushmen centres largely in the worship of the Heavenly Bodies, and especially of the Moon. Prayers directed by them to the Moon have been recorded in the texts collected by Bleek and Lloyd, but unfortunately the details given are far too scanty to throw much light upon the nature of the worship. One account, indeed, indicates that when the New Moon first appears every man prays to it, and Orpen also mentions having seen Bushmen throw sand in the air and shout out on seeing the crescent moon when it first appeared, but there is nothing else to suggest any special form of rite. The prayers themselves are chiefly prayers for food, and one of them, just lately published by Miss Bleek,[1] may be quoted as illustrating the form of invocation. It is spoken with raised right hand:—

Ho, my hand is this,
I shoot a springbok with my hand
By an arrow.

I lie down,
I will early kill a springbok
To-morrow.

Ho, Moon lying there,
Let me kill a springbok
To-morrow,
Let me eat a springbok;
With this arrow
Let me shoot a springbok
With this arrow;
Let me eat a springbok,
Let me eat filling my body
In the night which is here,
Let me fill my body.

Ho Moon lying there,
I dig out ants' food
To-morrow,
Let me eat it.

Ho Moon lying there,
I kill an ostrich to-morrow
With this arrow.

[1] "Bushman Folklore," *Africa*, ii (1929), 306.

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Ho Moon lying there,
Thou must look at this arrow,
That I may shoot a springbok with it to-morrow.

In the mythology of these people the Moon is represented now as the shoe of the Mantis, which he threw into the sky to give him light, now as a man gradually sliced down to almost complete extinction by the sun; and it is also connected, as we have seen, with the origin of death. But that it is more than merely a mythological character to them is shown not only by the prayers, but also by various special observances relating to it. The Moon is not to be laughed at, lest it become angry and go into the sky (i.e. become eclipsed). A Bushman child for the same reason is warned by his father not to look at the Moon as it rises behind the mountain, for fear of arousing its anger and causing it to become obscured. Above all the Moon may not be looked at when game has been shot, lest the wounded animal be lost.[1]

[773]

Prayers are also found addressed to the Sun and, more frequently, to the Stars. Abundance of food is attributed to them, and the prayers, like those addressed to the Moon, ask for success in hunting and collecting, and say, in effect, "send food, that we may live and not die." Certain stars are asked for certain foods, probably those that come into season about the time the star first appears in the evening sky. Canopus, for instance, known as the "Bushman rice (ants' larvæ) Star", is addressed as follows[2]:—

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[539]

O Star coming there,
Let me see a springbok,
O Star coming there,
Let me dig out ants' food
With this stick;
O Star-body coming there,
Let me dig out ants' food
With this stick;
O Star coming there,
Let me see a springbok to-morrow;
O Star coming there,
I give thee my heart;
Do thou give me thy heart;
O Star coming there,
I may see a proteles to-morrow,
Let the dog kill it,
Let me eat it,
Let me eat filling my body,
That I may lie and sleep at night.

[1] Bleek, *Bushman Tales*, 7, 9–10, 15; Lloyd, *Bushman Material Collected*, 7; Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, Index s. v. "Moon"; Orpen, "Mythology of the Malut Bushman", 145; D. F. Bleek, op. cit., 304–6.
[2] D. F. Bleek, op. cit., 307.

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[821] and left them lying alone, whereupon they ascended to the sky.
[773] This story, adds Lebzelter, is not believed in at all by the people, who told it to him with great laughter.[1]

Other prayers to the New Moon are found, however, among the
[782] !O Kung in Angola. Miss Bleek describes a dance seen by her,
[535] in which the women and girls stood in a group on one side singing and clapping their hands, while the men, singing also but not clapping, were in an irregular group on the other side, wriggling their whole bodies but otherwise hardly moving. The song accompanying this dance was a repetition of the words :—

[539] *//nwa-ɛs //kolama //gu a i-i,* New Moon, come out, give water to us,
//nwa-ɛs tatana //gu a i-i, New Moon, thunder down water for us,
//nwa-ɛs tala u //gu a i-i, New Moon, shake down water for us.

Here also, as among the Naron and Auen, the Moon is therefore looked upon as the raingiver, and is prayed to as such—and rain, it must be remembered, makes the plants grow which feed the buck, hence it provides both vegetable and animal food. The New Moon is said to be either a child or a man, while the Full Moon is a woman. This distinction Miss Bleek interprets in the light of the difference in form presented by these two aspects of the Moon. In Naron and
[193] Nama the masculine and feminine endings are given to the same
[196] roots to denote respectively strong, tall, slender things and weak, short, round things. So here the New Moon may be called a man, because of its slenderness, the Full Moon a woman because of its round shape. The Moon is also held to be the elder sister, the sun the younger; but apparently there are no special practices or beliefs regarding the latter, although one of Miss Bleek's informants said: "We sing to the Sun and the Stars as well as the Moon." No prayers
[782] to the former are recorded, however.[2]

The only other Bushmen of whose ideas relating to the heavenly bodies we have information are the Hiechware. Dornan states that
[184] he was unable to discover among them any special ceremonies connected with the sun and the moon, but that they certainly do reverence these bodies, although seeming to dread them more than anything else. They think they must keep on good terms with the sun and the moon if they are to be successful in hunting or anything
[782] else they undertake. He could not, however, discover any prayers

[1] Religiösen Vorstellungen der *//Khun*-Buschmänner," 401; *idem*, "Bei den !Kun Buschleuten" 13.
[2] "Buschmänner von Angola," 53; *idem*, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 119–20, 122, 124.

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O galiopen,
O galiopen,
Do ye not know me?
Ye do not seem to know my hut.

Then they speak to the Rain itself:—

Thou shouldst put thy tail between thy legs,
For the women are looking shocked at thee;
Thou shouldst put thy tail between thy legs for the children.

The Rain seems here to be thought of as a magic animal ridden by spirits."

791 821 Certain magicians have power over the Rain, and can cause it to come or stay away, as they please. These powers remain with them even after death, and just as in life they are asked for rain, so when they are dead, they may also be entreated to send it. Other magicians have a similar power over the wind, */khwe*, and are protected by it. The howling of the wind is believed to forebode evil; it tells the beasts of prey where to find people, and when it blows strongly they can approach the huts unheard. In the mythology the wind [773] is represented as having formerly been a man, which now wears the form of a bird.[1]

773 776 [184] [794] Among the Bushmen of Basutoland and the Orange Free State we meet again with tales about the Mantis, differing but slightly from those of the Cape. He seems, however, to have been here the object of a definite cult as well. According to Arbousset, it was believed that *'Kaang* (i.e. */kaggen*) or, as he was also termed, *'Kue-'akeng-'teng*, "the man (master) of all things," causes life and death and gives [761] [821] or refuses rain. All the animals have special marks which he has put [825] upon them; deficiency of game is attributed to him, and he is invoked for success in the chase. He is also worshipped in times of famine 796 and before going to war, when the *mo'koma* or "dance of blood" 535 is performed all through the night. This dance Orpen's informant, [773] Qing, described as follows: "*Cagn* (i.e. */kaggen*)[2] gave us the song of this dance, and told us to dance it, and people would die from it, and he would give charms to raise them again. It is a circular dance of men and women, following each other, and it is danced all night. [786] Some fall down, some become as if mad and sick, blood runs from the noses of others whose charms are weak, and they eat charm medicine, in which is burnt snake powder.

[1] Bleek, *Bushman Texts*, 17; Lloyd, *Bushman Material Collected*, 9, 20–1; Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, 195–9, 393–7 *et passim*; D. F. Bleek, *Bushman Folklore*, 307–9.

[2] In some orthographies, especially that used for the Zulu-Xosa languages, the symbol c represents the dental click, written / in the standard orthography for Bushman and Hottentot languages. *Cagn* is therefore merely another way of writing */kaggen*; both represent the same sounds. [104]

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medicine, in which is burnt snake powder. When a man is sick, this dance is danced round him, and the dancers put both hands under their arm-pits, and press their hands upon him, and when he coughs the initiated put out their hands and receive what has injured him—secret things. The initiated who know secret things are Qogne; the sick person is hang cäi." 535 796 [755]

Cagn, said Qing, was the first being and made all things—the sky, the moon, stars, mountains, and animals. The Bushmen prayed to him. On being asked how, Qing answered, in a low, imploring tone: "O Cagn! O Cagn! are we not your children, do you not see our hunger? give us food"—"and he gives us both hands full." To the further question, where *Cagn* was, he responded, "We don't know, but the elands do. Have you not hunted and heard his cry, when the elands suddenly start and run to his call? Where he is, the elands are in droves like cattle." 776 [782] [539] [825]

Cagn's wife was *Coti*. When asked where she came from, Qing said, "I don't know, perhaps with those who brought the Sun; but you are now asking the secrets that are not spoken of." These secrets he himself did not know—"only the initiated men of that dance know these things." *Cagn* also had two sons, *Cogaq* and *Gcwi*, and together with him and *Cogaq* there was another great "chief", *Qwangciqutshaa*. All three had great power, but it was *Cagn* who gave orders through the other two. Of all these personages various tales were related by Qing. One of them, describing how *Cogaq* was killed by baboons and restored to life again by *Cagn*, is almost identical with the similar story told by the Cape Bushmen of */kaggen* and */gaunu-ts'axau*. In all these tales *Cagn* appears as a human being, but with supernatural powers. He can change himself into different forms, is then sometimes killed and eaten by animals or people, but always comes to life again. He possesses various magical charms, the strongest of which is his tooth; and the birds are his messengers who report to him what is going on. Occasionally he gets into trouble, from which he is extricated by *Cogaq*, just as in the Cape Bushman stories */kaggen* is aided by */ni*. [794] 773 776 [825]

Another name for the Mantis among these Bushmen, according to Arbousset, is *'ngo*. This may explain the following quotation from Campbell: "They had a name which they gave to God, who is above them, and another to God who is under them. The former is a male, the latter a female. The male God they call Goba, the female Ko; and her attendants are called Gauna." *Ko* (*'ngo*), as 776

[see category 116, p. 182 for the author's explanation of the 'initiated.' —Analyst]

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from Chapman, who records that once when some Bushmen were with him and he had killed a rhinoceros they threw some dust on its tail and spat in its eyes before they touched it, muttering meanwhile "some gibberish" to *Thora*, while on another occasion when he had killed some elephants a similar performance was again enacted by his Bushman attendants.

The distinction between *Thora* and *Huwe* is not quite clear from Dornan's account. In one place he seems to imply that the two words refer to the same conception. Elsewhere, however, he remarks: "Huwe seems an inferior kind of spirit to Thora, for at times the latter is invoked to come to his aid, as if the former were not powerful enough to defend himself and his children. Some Bushmen near the Tuli River sang the following words, in an agitated and melancholy voice: 'Thora ba Huwe i-e i-e, Thora come to the help of Huwe i-e i-e,' ad lib." From their attributes, however, it seems that the two conceptions *Thora* and *Huwe* are substantially the same. In all probability the name *Huwe* has drifted in from the west, which would explain why it is sometimes substituted for *Thora*, sometimes found alongside it.[1]

In addition to this being variously named *Hishe*, *Huwe*, *Xu*, *Erob*, *Thora*, etc., all the Northern Bushmen also speak of *//gauwa* (*Gaua*, *//gaua*, *//gauab*, etc.). This word, as we have already seen, is used by the North-Western Bushmen for "a person who has died", or more precisely, as appears in certain cases, for the ghost of a dead person. It is, however, also used with a much wider application. Among the Naron and Auen at Sandfontein the wind is called *//gauwa* when it is strong and howls. One of the Naron tales recorded by Miss Bleek speaks of the wind as a man going about, and of *//gauwa* as a bird accompanying him. "*//gauwa* says: 'I make the wind and thus go.'" Some of the people seemed to believe in a supreme *//gauwa*, a being who lives in the east near *Hishe*, to whose house the ghosts repair by day. They said he was *Hishe's* younger brother, while others said *//gauwa* was *Hishe*. Miss Bleek affirms that no ideas of good or bad qualities are connected with either of these beings, nor are they prayed to. Fourie, however, speaks of *Gaua* among the partly-disorganized Auen and Naron as a "bad being" or "Satan", to whom people dying a "bad death" are said to go,

[1] Dornan, op. cit., 148–50; Chapman, *Travels in S. Africa*, i, 386, 81. The translation given by Dornan of the prayer in which *Thora* is asked to come to the aid of *Huwe* cannot be relied upon. In another place (*J.R. Anthrop. Inst.*, 1917, p. 53) he renders the same words: "God leave (us) alone ie ie!"